

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SP-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 EUR-12 /030 W

----- 112577

O 252130Z APR 76 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9196

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 4000

S/S-O - FOR MONDAY AM DELIVERY TO S/P - BARTHOLEMEW FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON APAG PAPER

1. YOUR CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PAPER WAS ACCURATE. WE WILL NEITHER COWER IN SHAME NOR BASK IN GLORY. IN ADDITION TO THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS, YOU SHOULD DRAW UPON THE MOSCOW ANALYSIS AS AGREED AND GENERALLY MAKE THE STYLE PUNCHIER. ASSUMING YOU TAKE CARE OF ALL MY PROBLEMS AND GET HIGH LEVEL COMMENT FROM THE APPROPRIATE BUREAUS THAT YOU ARE CONFIDENT THAT I CAN LIVE WITH, I NEED NOT SEE THE PAPER AGAIN. WE SHOULD GET IT OUT NO LATER THAN THE END OF THIS WEEK, PROBABLY DISTRIBUTE IT IN CAPITALS AS WELL AS BRUSSELS.

2. I CAN LIVE WITH USE OF THE WORD "DETENTE" IN PLACES, BUT I WOULD NOT MAKE IT THE FIRST WORD OF THE ENTIRE PAPER.

3. IN PARA 4 MENTION THE DOMESTIC SUPPORT DIMENSION, INCLUDING THE INCREASING SCEPTICISM IN PUBLIC OPINION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC AND THE TENDENCY TO TAKE FOR GRANTED WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

4. RE PRA 5, BREAK UP THE SECOND SENTENCE WHICH IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE LUMBERING STYLE INTO WHICH THE PAPER SOMETIME LAPSES. ALSO YOU MAY WISH TO HITPLIGHT MORE CLEARLY THE CONSOLIDATION/IMPLEMENTATION/CONCENTRATION ROAD MAP. IN THE LAST SENTENCE INCLUDE THE NEED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATION ON POLITICAL MATTERS.

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5. THERE IS A GENERAL STRUCTURAL PROBLEM RELATING SECTION II TO SECTION IV. SEE WHETHER YOU CAN FIND A WAY TO MATCH UP MORE CLEARLY THE SUBHEADINGS IN THE TWO SECTIONS. IN ANY EVENT, IN SECTION II YOU NEED A COUPLE OF PARAGRAPHS EACH ON CSCE AND ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS. IN ADDITION THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF SECTION III HANGING THERE IN THE MIDDLE WHICH MAY BE THE ONLY PLACE TO PUT IT.

6. RE PARA 9, BERLIN CRISES RAISED TENSIONS MORE GENERALLY, INCLUDING US-SOVIET RELATIONS, THAN MERELY IN GERMANY AND BERLIN.

7. IN PARA 11 YOU SHOULD MENTION OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA, POLAND, HUNGARY.

8. THE STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS SECTION, PARAS 14-16, IS DISJOINTED AND TOO DOWNBEAT. IT GOES BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN SALT I AND II. IT NEEDS A COUPLE OF SENTENCES ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SALT I, NOT ONLY ABM BUT THE HALTING OF SOVIET PROGRAMS, ETC., PER RECENT HAK SPEECHES. ISN'T THE SECOND SENTENCE IN PARA 15 DANGEROUS FOR THE EUROPEANS IN TERMS OF THE DECOUPLING ISSUE? GENERALLY, THIS SECTION SHOULD BE MUCH MORE UPBEAT ABOUT WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER FUTURE AGREEMENTS, WHILE KEEPING A REALISTIC NOTE ABOUT THE COMPETITION THAT WILL REMAIN.

9. RE PARA 18, THE LAST SENTENCE IS TOTALLY UNCLEAR TO ME.

10. SECTION III IS GENERALLY WEAK. WHILE I AGREE IT IS BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THIS PAPER TO MAKE IT COMPREHENSIVE, IT DOES NEED TO BE STRENGTHENED AND RELATED MORE EFFECTIVELY TO THE CENTRAL THEME OF THE PAPER CONCERNING EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE. ALSO YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM IS ONLY USED AS THE MOST CURRENTLY URGENT EXAMPLE, AND THAT SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN OTHER AREAS SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST, NOT TO MENTION ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA, IMPACT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE.

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11. IN PARA 22, WE SHOULD REFER TO OUR PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WARNINGS AND THE LARGELY SYMBOLIC STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN. THE LAST TWO SENTENCES ARE WEAK AND VAGUE. GO BACK TO HAK'S JANUARY PRE-MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO SPELL OUT OUR APPROACH MORE CLEARLY AND FULLY.

12. RE PARA 23, REFER TO RECENT HAK SPEECHES FOR A BETTER DESCRIPTION OF OUR TWO TRACK APPROACH.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NAIROBI 4000

S/S-O - FOR MONDAY AM DELIVERY TO S/P - BARTHOLOMEW FROM LORD

13. RE PARA 25, IT IS RELATIONS GENERALLY AND EVENTS AS WELL AS NEGOTIATIONS THAT HAVE SET THE PARAMETERS FOR THE NEXT PHASE.

14. IN PARA 27, THE LAST THREE SENTENCES ARE UNCLEAR AND DISJOINTED.

15. RE PARA 31, FIRST SENTENCE IS AWKWARD.

16. IN PARA 33, YOU CAN PERHAPS MAKE THE ROAD MAP CLEARER. IN ADDITION, I THINK WE SHOULD DROP NON-PROLIFERATION FROM THIS PAPER LEST WE SOULD LIKE RIBICOFF TO THE EUROPEANS.

17. THE CONSOLIDATION SECTION IN PARA 34 NEEDS GREATER ELABORATION, INCLUDING THE CHALLENGE OF EXPLAINING TO OUR PUBLICS THE NEED FOR, AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF, A TWO TRACK APPROACH.

18. IN BOTH THE IMPLEMENTATION AND THE CONCENTRATION SECTIONS, I WOULD DROP THE LETTERED SUBHEADINGS. IN ADDITION, YOU HAVE THE STRUCTURAL PROBLEM OF RELATING THE SUBSECTIONS HERE TO THOSE IN SECTION II SOMEHOW.

19. RE PARA 37, MENTION THE THEMES OF AFFECTING SOVIET BEHAVIOR, CREATING VESTED INTERESTS, PENALTIES AND INCENTIVES, ETC. THE NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE HAS A GARBLE AND THE LAST

SENTENCE IS VAPID.

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20. RE PARA 38, ADD A COUPLE OF SENTENCES FROM THE BOSTON OR DALLAS SPEECHES ON OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SALT I, INCLUDING THE ISSUE OF VIOLATIONS AND THE FACT THAT NO CLEAR ONES HAVE YET OCCURED.

21. RE PARA 39, THE LAST SENTENCE IS MUCH TOO LONG.

22. THE CSCE SECTION IS GENERALLY WEAK AND UNCLEAR AND DISJOINTED ALSO.

23. RE PARA 41, YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN BRIEFLY WHAT IS BEHIND THE ASSERTION IN THE LAST SENTENCE.

24. RE PARA 44, WE NEED AT LEAST A FEW SENTENCES ON OUR CURRENT AND FUTURE INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO SALT. WE SHOULD ALSO RELATE THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO THE EUROPEAN SCENE. IN ADDITION I WOULD AGAIN DROP NON-PROLIFERATION IN AN EAST-WEST CONTEXT AS WELL AS JUSTIFYING HIGHLIGHTING MBFR IN THIS PAPER.

25. THE FINAL SENTENCES IN PARAS 45-46 ARE PRIME EXAMPLES OF LUMBERING ENGLISH WHICH NEEDS TO BE TIGHTENED.

26. RE PARA 47, THE FUTURE PROSPECTS LOOK A BIT TOO UP-BEAT, BUT I LEAVE THIS TO YOU EXPERTS.

27. YOU SHOULD CUT BACK THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS SECTION SOMEWHAT--IT IS LENGTHY COMPARED TO THE OTHERS.

28. RE PARA 50, THE LAST SENTENCE IS FLABBY AND UNCLEAR.

29. RE PARA 52-54, THE PRESENTATION IS DISJOINTED. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON LAST YEARS APAG PAPER AND INDEED PERHAPS EXPLICITLY CROSS REFERENCE IT AS WELL. IN ADDITION, THE SUGGESTIONS IN THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARA 52 MAY BE TOO SPECIFIC; YOU SHOULD AT LEAST HAVE OUR ECONOMISTS CHECK THESE.

30. THE EASTERN EUROPE SECTION, IT SEEMS TO ME, SHOULD HIT THE SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE PROBLEMS MUCH MORE COMPREHENSIVELY.

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SONNENFELDT SHOULD PARTICULARLY GO OVER THIS SECTION.
RE PARA 55 IN THE SECOND SENTENCE, WHY WOULD THE ECONOMIC
AREA BE PARTICULARLY AFFECTED? RE PARA 56, THE LAST
SENTENCE BEGINS WITH A NON-SEQUITER AND THEN STAGGERS
INTO AN ASSERTION THAT IS UNEXPLAINED.

31. THE CONCLUDING THOUGHTS SECTION IS PARTICULARLY
VAPID AND PETERS OUT. IT NEEDS MORE ELEVATION. ALSO,
AS AGREED, WE SHOULD LIST A SERIES OF SPECIFIC ISSUES FOR
DISCUSSION, INCLUDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EVENTS
AND POLICIES OUTSIDE EUROPE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN
EUROPE.

32. PLEASE HAVE WAITING FOR THE SECRETARY WHEN HE RETURNS
A BRIEF MEMO PREVIEWING BOTH THE APAG MEETING AND THE
LONDON STOP.

33. HARAMBEE.
MARSHALL

SECRET

NNN

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